SOCIAL PROGRESS

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MARCH 1946

SOCIAL PROGRESS

VOL. XXXVI MARCH, 1946 No. 7

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Articles appearing herein furnish information on current issues, represent the personal opinion of the authors, and are not to be construed as declarations of official attitudes or policies on behalf of the Department of Social Education and Action or the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

Social Progress

Published monthly, except July and August, by the Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, at 1009 Sloan Street, Crawfordsville, Indiana. Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Crawfordsville, Indiana, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Editors: Cameron P. Hall, Elsie G. Rodgers.

Editorial and Executive office, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Subscriptions, 50 cents a year; three years for $1.25. Single copy, 10 cents.

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Extravagant Zeal

By John Paul Jones *

PEOPLE of dignity and refinement do not like excesses of any kind. That is understandable, and in a world where things were as they should be it is all right. But our world is not of that kind.

It is important to remember how much civilization owes to men and women who were near fanatics—if not full-fledged. The great Isaiah flung aside his prophetic robes and walked about naked to make the people listen to what they ought to hear. Paul said, "I am determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified."

But extravagant zeal is a necessary offset to dull complacency. We now remember what Isaiah stood for, not the manner in which he commanded attention. We know today what few besides the Apostle Paul understood in his time, namely, that the coming of Jesus was immeasurably important. Paul would never have been heard of if he had not preached the new Gospel with an extravagant and often embarrassing zeal.

Complacency makes the wise and prudent often blind, cruel, and useless. Their salvation and that of the rest of us is in the hands of people who pursue their insights with extravagant zeal. The scientists who worked on the atom bomb project all seem to be troubled and nervous, and some of them a little off balance. They are threatening to turn propagandist in a most unscientific fashion! Why? They know that only intelligent, ethical control by the whole world community can save men from destruction by their own devices. They face the incredible complacency of a nation that thinks it has security in a secret that cannot be kept.

In quite another fashion there is an ominous complacency while world events have shaped a fuse for another bomb and placed it on our doorstep. Fighting a war against a master race theory under the banner of democratic ideals has everywhere increased the hungers for liberty and equality. Racial adjustment has become the number one problem in America. But innumerable good people do not want to be bothered about it. So now it turns out that our salvation may depend on scientists who desert their laboratories to preach international co-operation with fanatical zeal; and upon ministers and teachers who embarrass us and tire us out with their theory and practice of brotherhood!

No, we do not like extravagance. We fear the single-track mind; but we need more single-track minds—good minds on the right track.

* Minister, Union Church of Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, New York.

The Christian Church and Imperialism

By Hubert C. Noble *

AT LUNCHEON one day at the San Francisco Conference representatives of the Federal Council of Churches found themselves sitting beside Miss Virginia Gildersleeve, one of the American delegates. Miss Gildersleeve had told of the work of her committee on trusteeships that morning, and expressed concern that the section on trusteeships might be left out of the charter because the representatives of the various nations could not agree upon a formula. Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk and Dr. Frederick J. Nolde listened carefully, asked pertinent questions, and immediately after lunch set to work with delegates and advisers to see whether they could help in the situation. Before they were through they had the satisfaction of knowing that the section on trusteeships had been retained and, to a large extent, expressed the principles laid down by the Christian Church at Delaware and Cleveland.

Such phrases as these were used: The interests of the dependent peoples are a primary concern—ensuring their political, economic, social, and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses—developing self-government, taking due account of their political aspirations and assisting in the development of free political institutions.

However, even though high principles for the treatment of dependent peoples are laid down in the United Nations Charter, it is evident that the imperialistic powers are not yet ready to take these principles seriously. Their hesitancy is indicated first of all by the fact that safeguards against the necessity of immediate action are also included in the charter. The trusteeship system applies only to territories under mandate, or territories detached from enemy states, or voluntarily placed under it by states responsible for their administration. Nothing in the trusteeship chapter shall alter any existing rights of states or peoples.

This hesitancy is further indicated by the fact that United Nations soldiers and even former enemy soldiers have been used to suppress native struggles for self-government in order that former imperial powers like Holland and France might again seat themselves firmly in control. All this means that dependent peoples will get little justice and freedom unless Christians show an even greater concern that principles be put into practice than they did for

* Chaplain and Associate Professor of Religion, Occidental College. Committee on International Justice and Goodwill, Los Angeles Church Federation.

ving the principles included in the arter. This concern must be shown t simply by condemning imperialm. It means, rather, understandg imperialism, judging it in terms Christian moral principles, makg clear its weaknesses and sugsting alternatives.

Early imperialism was simply nquest followed by trade. As ade became increasingly profitable people in the home country, erchantilism, or governmentonsored imperialism, developed. he third phase came during the riod of free trade when European tions grabbed more and more terory, but at the same time tended give more independence to the der colonies. This has become hat Professor Earle describes as odern imperialism: "The imperialm which . . . grows out of the instrial capitalist system under hich our society lives and its obctives are primarily concerned ith problems of raw materials, of arkets for manufactured articles, d of opportunities for the profitle investment of capital." [1]

In recent years a demand has been eadily growing that dependent eoples be put under the control of international organization. The eague of Nations made a start in is direction. The present United ations Charter provides for a further step, but considering the present mood of the imperial powers one sees little hope of this being achieved in the immediate future unless an aroused public opinion makes far more insistent demands than it has yet done.

[1] From *Imperialism, Territorial and Economic*, by Edward M. Earle, Report of the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, p. 82. Washington, 1925.

Advantages of Imperialism

What are the advantages of imperialism? Why are the imperialistic powers so slow to give up their privileges even though it is pretty generally agreed that the control and exploitation of native peoples is morally wrong.

One important advantage is, of course, military. Colonial areas have provided important outposts and bases, have been a source of military raw materials, and at times have provided military man power.

A second major advantage is economic. Here opinions differ, but on the whole one can say that imperialism has been profitable for the nations that got in first, and probably unprofitable for those like the Axis powers that came in late. Few of us realize, for example, how much British prosperity has depended upon her colonial empire. In prewar days the British got 3½ per cent from their investments in Europe, but 7½ profit from their investments in the Far East. Furthermore, a great deal of money was brought into England by trade, shipping, banking, and insurance. Those who demand immediate independence for India need

to realize that the loss of India would mean a major economic revolution in Britain. It is easy to criticize Churchill for saying that he had no intention of presiding over the liquidation of the British Empire, but it needs to be remembered that "fully half her population depends on the profits of her commercial and industrial supremacy." [2]

How important colonies are to the Dutch may be gathered from the fact that half a million of the people of the Netherlands before the war lived directly or indirectly off the profits of her colonies. A great many French people got their living directly or indirectly from the colonies. The French garnered 7 per cent profits on their investments in Indo-China. Indo-China took a half of French exports and contributed 57 per cent of her imports.

A third advantage of imperialism is that colonies are a source of raw materials for the industries of the mother countries. In most instances these are the subsidiary materials but ones that have become increasingly important in industrial production. The loss of Malayan rubber for Britain and the United States was a very serious matter during the war.

A fourth advantage cited by some is that colonies provided an outlet for population pressure. On the whole the facts do not bear this out. Though Italy has had colonies for some time, Italians have not seen f to migrate to the colonies so that the present time there are more Ita ians in New York City than in all th Italian colonies. In 1930 there wer seven times as many foreign-bor white people in New York as ha migrated to Africa from all Eu ropean countries in a hundred year Japanese people have shown no in clination to migrate to Korea o Manchuria. In 1905, 300,000 Jap anese lost their lives taking Sout Manchuria from Russia, by 193 only 200,000 Japanese had migrate to the new territory.

A fifth advantage is the sense o self-satisfaction and pride in bein part of an empire that colony-owni gives to the citizens of an imperia istic power.

Church Responsibility

What is the responsibility of th Church in this matter? The Churc must unequivocally proclaim th moral issue involved. It must pro claim a moral judgment on all selfis imperialism. If we want to mak clear to ourselves the nature of th moral issue, all we need to do is t ask ourselves what we would thin of imperialism if the Axis natio had won the war and we were the ex ploited peoples. The Church ca not admit for a moment tha economic advantage or difficulty o solution or any other factors shoul be allowed to stand in the way of th necessary changes.

[2] From *War and Its Causes*, by L. L. Bernard. Henry Holt and Company, Inc. 1944.

However, the Church is under obligation to show its understanding of the problems involved and to suggest alternatives. It must answer the proponents of the military advantages of imperialism by making clear the disastrous consequences of another war and do all possible to see that the world organization becomes strong and vital enough to replace the present anarchical struggle among all peoples for unilateral national security.

The Church must show that it sees clearly how the elimination of imperialism means major economic changes. It must refuse to succumb to the cynicism that in any conflict between morals and economic advantage morals of necessity come off a poor second, so that realism means we must make the best of a bad situation.

Changes must now be brought about but not with callous disregard of those whose economic welfare is bound up with the colonial system. These must be aided in making the necessary adjustments, so that justice for India or Burma doesn't mean injustice for the cotton mill worker of Lancashire, England. Not only must the Church state the ultimate ideal, it must suggest practical, immediate forward steps.

On the basis of this sort of realism the Church is in a position to point out that imperialism, while profitable for a relatively few people in a nation, is in the long run disastrous for the nation as a whole. The cost of a single war caused by imperialism would far exceed the profits of any colony for a hundred years, not to speak of the far more precious lives that would be sacrificed. It must be made clear that a continuation of imperialism inevitably means war, competitive war between imperial powers and war to hold down the restless native peoples who have caught a vision of freedom and independence and a better way of life.

Realism can point out that raw materials may be just as available under a system of trusteeships as under a system of competitive exploitation. As for the argument that colonies solve the problem of population pressure all that is necessary is to make public the facts.

The Church has one more grave responsibility, that of overcoming the psychological satisfactions that come from imperialism. Here it will be helpful to reveal the roots of such national pride; how it grows out of a narrow nationalism and perverted patriotism; how for some it is a compensation for a sense of personal inferiority and frustration. On the positive side the Church must strengthen its emphasis on world citizenship and the oneness of men as children of God. It must develop among men a saving faith that takes its pride in dedication to the will of God and the building of his Kingdom on earth.

Uneasy Peace

By Raymond Swing *

A YEAR ago tonight, when there was no peace, peace was what we longed for. Tonight we have peace . . . . There is peace on earth, but there is not the good will among men that is the test and proof of it. We realize that the peace we enjoy is the absence of war, rather than the presence of confidence, understanding, and generous conduct. We are not children; we know that peace is something that has to be won—it does not flower like a miracle at the end of a war. We know we have not won it yet.

The Individual Is Important

One kind of letter comes to me from listeners more often than any other, one which asks almost in prayer, What can I *do*? An obvious answer to such a cry is, Be patient. For it is not true that individuals no longer count, and do not have a share in creating events. True, there is little time for patience, perhaps less than there ever has been before, in a tide of crisis. But individuals can think and feel. And in this country thought and feeling can and do mount quickly to action, and action to change, and change to reform.

Probably individuals never lived in a time when they could be mo sure than now of counting. Lo back ten years, or only five years, a measure how much each of us h changed his thinking, his feeling, a his understanding of the nature peace. As a nation we have tak huge, almost incredible, strides. W have emerged from isolation. A we believed in isolation, in its bei a virtue, a really decent way to li because we were minding our o business and were not out to ta anything from anybody in a sord world.

Now we are the world's leadi nation, not only its best-off and m productive, but its leading nation. is a long, long way from isolation leadership. We have gone this v distance in five years. And we ha done so because individuals ha made their contribution to th times. They made a gift. It was fi of all a gift of being, which came b fore any gift of doing. It was a gift each being a world citizen. I am n saying that we are ripe and wi world citizens. But we have urg forward into world citizenship wi wonderful swiftness.

The Mechanism of Democrac

Now individuals can make a other contribution, another gift of b ing. They can be persons of pea

* Broadcast of December 25, 1945. Printed with the permission of Mr. Swing and of the American Broadcasting Company.

They can cultivate good will. Above all, they can think about peace and how it is brought to pass. For there is in democracy what in olden times was called a mystery. It isn't really mysterious; it is simply obscure and unobvious. It is this: When enough individuals, each as a separate entity and an original source of thought and feeling, concentrate on something their emotion produces action, and change and reform follow.

This happens visibly in an election when men and women go to the polls. But it also happens invisibly—without any voting. It happened again in the year or two before the election of 1944, when the American people decided that henceforth this nation must bear its share of the responsibility for peace.

There is a mechanism in a democracy which operates in the free flow of thought and expression. One can point to newspaper editorials, and platform speeches, and magazine articles. But it is not these which constitute the change. They only accompany it. The change is something streaming forth from vast numbers of individuals, of which there is no record, and, if you please, no scientific proof. But it works wonders. If five years ago anyone would have told you that by now Congress would have voted this country into a world organization of collective security, and done so overwhelmingly, without filibuster, or long and bitter debate, you would have shaken your head. Now it has happened, but not because men in Congress changed their minds, though they did. It happened because tens of millions of American individuals took up the question of peace, did so earnestly, and individually; and each came to a kind of conclusion about it.

Mind you, they did not come to the same conclusion, or a final conclusion. Some favored a new league of nations. Others were ready to go into a world federation, and those ready for a world federation were not all in favor of the same kind of federation . . . . But the great discussion about the nature of peace held in this country in the last few years is, I am sure, the greatest ever held in any land, on any theme, in the history of men. There never has been such a debate. It reached out from the cities to the towns, from towns to the villages and hamlets, and on to the farms. We think of the American Revolution as having been a great decision of the people on this continent. But not a fraction of the people heard or talked about relations with England in the 1770's that have talked in our time about the nature of peace. During World War I, even though it produced unprecedented paroxysms, only a minority of Americans can be said to have come to grips with world problems, and reached an individual judgment. But World War II was more nearly total war, and because of this, and

(Continued on page 35)

Legion Plan for Conscription

*By E. Raymond Wilson**

THE Congress of the United States is now being urged to go in two different directions in regard to peacetime conscription. The May Bill has been widely supported by the proponents of compulsory military training while opponents urge the support of the Martin Resolution and others which seek the outlawry of conscription on the part of all nations.

Proposals both for conscription and for its abolition have been referred to the House Military Affairs Committee. However, consideration has been given only to the proposal for a year of compulsory military training. The committee has held public hearings at which Army and Navy leaders testified in favor of compulsory training and leaders of civic organizations testified against it. Despite the fact that only a few of the opposition spokesmen have thus far been heard by the committee it appears unlikely that the War Department proposal will be acceptable to the Congress. Instead the American Legion has produced a plan that *The National Legionnaire* claims the House Military Affairs Committee has considered and has promised to introduce as an amendment to the May Bill, H.R. 515.

* Executive Secretary, Friends Committee on National Legislation.

The Legion plan calls for at leas one year of military training. Unde it every boy must take four month basic training upon graduation fro high school or upon reaching the ag of eighteen. Following the fou month period the boys go into th R.O.T.C. College students must tak four years military training an spend at least another summer i military camps. Those who don't g to college must enlist in the Nationa Guard for a period of years or enlis in the regular Army. Others may b selected for work in industry or i technological institutes.

The Legion plan is designed t meet the objections of those who d not want education interrupted an those who do not want their boy away from home for a year's time Actually the Legion plan has as man serious implications as the origina conscription proposal. The vas majority of boys, unable to affor going to college and unable to ear money during the summers spent i military camps, would be forced int the Army or the National Guard.

The 8 to 10 per cent who are finan cially able to go to college would be come the officer class. Moreover, th presence of high-ranking officers o college faculties, with their influenc and control over the military purse strings, and the presence of men i

niform constantly being taught to repare for the next war would mean ilitarization for many of our chools.

Many small colleges and the hurch-related colleges do not have .O.T.C. Since most boys who plan o go to college would prefer to take heir military training in college ather than follow the alternative of pending an extra term in the Army, he tendency would be for the larger olleges and universities to profit at he expense of the smaller schools.

Many boys would be forced into he regular Army, and thus be dis-riminated against under the Legion lan, since there are many commu-ities, chiefly farm and small town, hat are not within traveling distance f a National Guard armory. Na-ional Guard units must be concen-rated in population centers if boys re to have military drill at night nd week ends. The last published eport of the Chief of the National Guard Bureau (June 30, 1937) hows that there were only 1,747 ap-roved armories for the entire United States, whereas there are 3,025 coun-ies and 3,251 cities of 2,500 or more opulation.

Through conscripts in industry, both labor unions and business would come under a measure of mili-ary control.

The Legion plan, moreover, would have very little defense value in the atomic age. Major General Ray E. Porter, who represented the War De-partment in December, 1945, before the House Military Affairs Committee, testified that neither National Guard nor college R.O.T.C. training is adequate for modern war. He said: "To provide a satisfactory degree of proficiency in combat and a normal chance of survival in battle, the training of the soldier requires large areas of varied terrain, firing ranges of many types, and numerous training aids which can be provided only in large military camps. Many of these facilities would constitute intolerable menaces to life and property in civilian communities. They could but rarely be made available at or near National Guard armories, and even though they were available, the short training periods, usually conducted at night, would preclude their effective use." He added that it is "impossible in the schools to convey any real conception of the nature of modern war, much less to prepare the soldier for combat."

Neither the Legion plan nor any other plan for universal military conscription seems realistic in the light of the atom bomb, which could wipe out millions of highly trained young men before they could be mobilized. Instead, the adoption of conscription would provide an excuse for other nations to join in the armaments race. If, in addition to having the world's largest navy, air force, industrial potential, financial ability, and the atom bomb, we begin a system of mass conscription, the rest

of the world will know that we are preparing for war. If others fear the military supremacy of the United States, there is always the threat of surprise atomic warfare.

The alternative is to get rid of conscription and armaments everywhere. Such a proposal is not hopelessly idealistic. It is hardheaded realism, and Senator Millard Tydings recognized this when he proposed to the Senate on January 28 that "the time has come for world disarmament." He added: "The indispensable requisite to good faith in the United Nations Organization is that each nation prove such faith by disarming. The charter specifies 'all parties shall refrain from the threat or the use of armed force.' If armies are maintained in the face of at least the implied pledge to disarm, the United Nations Organization is not worth the paper upon which it is written." The Senator's resolution S.R. 219 calls for inspection of all nations to make sure that disarmament is carried out.

Not only does Congress have to choose between world-wide disarmament and heavy national armaments, but the people have to choose. The American Legion has organized a pressure campaign to get Congress to accept its conscription proposal. Almost half of the Congress attended a Legion Auxiliary banquet in Wash ington on January 25 when th Legion's case was presented.

If Congress becomes convince that the Legion plan is acceptable t the American people, a conscriptio law will probably be passed. I however, the people let Congressme know that they want to be relieve of the "crushing burden of arma ments" as they were promised in th Atlantic Charter, there is a rea chance that we can avoid what Sen tor Tydings called "the unbelievabl regimentation" and crushing taxe that will reduce our scale of living

The Church and its members no have both the opportunity and th responsibility to guide the nation and, through its influence, the world into the paths of peace and brother hood. If the Church permits th youth of the nation to be drafted i peacetime for war training and wa preparation, it will find it increas ingly difficult sincerely to perfor those works of mercy and love t ward peoples of other nations whic look toward the eventual reconcilia tion of nations. Moreover, th Church cannot expect its young me to believe in another war and be i constant preparation for it and, a the same time, work for world brotherhood and permanent peace.

British Ask End of Draft Armies

The Philadelphia Inquirer *of February 13, 1946, reports that the United States dele gation is supporting the British proposal to the Security Council's military committe to abolish military conscription in all of the United Nations when the peace agency' international police force is established.*

Letter to a Senator

*By Malcolm D. Hooker**

The following is a letter written by a chaplain in the United States Army to his Senator, with reference to compulsory military training and service. It is the third in the series of articles expressing the convictions of chaplains in the services on matters of current concern to the people and the Church.

THE other day I received a copy of the Martin Resolution, introduced in the House of Representatives, calling upon the President and the State Department to use their good offices to achieve world-wide abolition of compulsory military training. I have studied it and wish to urge that the Congress give every consideration to it or some such proposal before committing our nation to a policy of compulsory peacetime military training which is so contrary to our way of life.

Since our enemies have been defeated and disarmed it is evident that such a policy can be directed only at one or more of our present allies. It seems to me that this is obviously an act of bad faith on our part. Unless faith and confidence can be built up among nations, there can be no solution to the problems that cause war. Threats of military might destroy rather than create that mutual trust.

We all know that compulsory military training has never prevented wars and there is a great deal of support for my opinion that it tends to produce them. The nations that lost this war all had such a system and it is by no means certain that the adoption of the same would insure our national security; in fact, a nation which has a powerful military machine is apt to depend more upon might than it does upon means of preventing wars. Surely it is worth every effort to remove this great cause of suspicion so that the nations of the world can intelligently and without fear of each other discuss their problems.

Notwithstanding all that our military leaders tell us, armies are not built to prevent wars; they are formed for one purpose and that only—namely, to fight—and this is drilled into them day and night. Personally, I believe that this is unhealthy, not only for the individuals that are subjected to it, but for the nation as a whole, for it creates a false sense of security.

And while I am on the subject, let me list additional reasons for my protest against compulsory training of any kind, whether our young men actually become a part of the armed forces or civilians in training, which I think is only a way of sugar-coating a bitter pill that our leaders think

* Chaplain, U.S. Army, on leave of absence from the First Presbyterian Church, Urbana, Ohio.

the public would not otherwise take.

1. Such training will continue to rob the professions of many valuable men, for, once having their education interrupted, they will be reluctant or unable to return to school. Taking even a year from a period of preparation that requires from seven to nine and ten years represents a serious loss in beginning one's career. It would also delay the starting of families, for few professional men can assume the added responsibilities of a home and family while still attending school. Such a delay would only increase the tendency toward fewer children among such people who should provide our best future citizens.

2. As one interested in the moral character of the nation's youth, I have observed that absence from home during this period of a man's life tends definitely to lower his moral standards. Part of this may be attributed to the individual but, more, I feel, to his environment, which certainly has been everything but healthy both in the States and overseas. In the armed forces a boy is led to believe that he is not a man until he has participated in acts of immorality. It has been my experience that the Army tends to encourage this type of life, at least in a negative way, and I regret to say in several cases in a positive manner. I have actually seen the Army furnish transportation to places of immorality. The men are being constantly reminded of a type of life that the would not have thought of whil under the wholesome influences o home or a good school. In too man instances their leaders not only fai to try to prevent it but participate i it themselves and condone the act of the men. Personally, I am unwill ing that even one year of my son' life be controlled by individuals o an institution so unconcerned abou a man's moral character. I believe if the American public could know the truth, they would agree with me

3. Military training is the most ex treme form of regimentation and like all regimentation, produces a frame of mind that certainly doe not fit one for the democratic process On the contrary, I have observed tha men who have lived under Army dis cipline are afraid to express thei opinion; in fact they are discouraged from having one. The fact that some one also furnishes the means of satis fying their every desire, except the wish to lead normal lives and finc their rightful place in society, plus the fact that all decisions that goverr their lives are made by others, tend to destroy rather than to create initi ative. I am persuaded that it will take a considerable time for an in dividual to readjust his thinking so as to enable him to take his part in democratic life. The military system is the antithesis of everything demo cratic. To indoctrinate the youth of our land with this philosophy is, in my opinion, to invite a form of regi-

mentation in our national life that will be intolerable to those who love their freedom and their present form of government.

4. It is my sincere belief that such a policy would constitute a denial of the cardinal principle of democratic and Christian thought upon which our nation was built and without which it cannot survive as a free people. There are those to whom any participation in the military process is a matter of religious principle. The character of many of these people is of the type that has made our nation great, yet a compulsory military training takes away their right of religious freedom. The result will be either that many good citizens will be compelled to leave the country for the same reason their ancestors fled from Europe or else we will treat as criminals those who have done no wrong other than to do as men of old, namely, obey God rather than men. History proves that once a nation adopts compulsory military service, the people do not long retain their individual rights.

In my opinion it would be tragic indeed if under the pretense of saving our most cherished values, such as freedom and strong moral character, we lose them in the process.

Allow me to thank you for reading and considering this letter. I assure you that the purest of motives and a great interest in our country's welfare and world peace have prompted its writing.

The Church Bears Testimony

"If this nation now adopts conscription, it will cut squarely across the conviction of the Church. . . . Men and nations don't break the laws of God; they are broken on and by them if they disobey. The Church of God with its conscience for truth and progress will outlive any nation. But I am deeply concerned, in this hour when the greatest nation on the earth needs an inner light, that the Congress not present the Church with the alternative of forsaking its God or forsaking its government! In either case the damage will be unbelievable. If the Church forsakes God and takes this thing lying down, then a great tragedy will have fallen upon us. We will have allowed the light to go out in our souls. If that occurs, something fearful will happen to the nation. If the Church is forced by such an unchristian step openly to oppose and disobey the Government, then again a tragedy follows. The true Church, the men who dare to be true to their highest, will be driven underground and the nation, in a sense, deprived of their leading when it desperately needs such help." *

* From *Conscription News*, Washington, D.C., January 10, 1945. Testimony of Rev. Charles R. Bell, Baptist minister, Madison, Wis., before House Military Affairs Committee.

Delinquents and Tomorrow

*By John Edgar Hoover**

CRIME has not taken a holiday. It is on a full twenty-four hour a day basis working incessantly to destroy our social order. The problems that confronted us during the war years diverted the attention of many from the evils of crime at home, and we must, without fail, awaken to the awful realization that in the absence of prompt decisive action now the future security of America will be slashed by vice and evil.

Our nation is going through a period of readjustment. The end of four long years of war finds many of our young fighting men and women returning from the far reaches of the globe where they carried on, with honor, relentless warfare against the forces of Axis evil. Because of their bravery and unselfish sacrifice, I cannot agree that generally they will now divorce themselves from American principles and enter upon a career of criminal activity. I am certain, however, that our service men and women were shocked to find out that crime on the home front had increased during the war years and that younger brothers and sisters were the chief participants.

The years 1941 to 1944 were tense years in our nation's history when we had dedicated our efforts to win the peace. There was little peace at home, for a comparison of 1944 statistics with the figures for 1941 reveals that arrests of boys under eighteen were up 18.8 per cent in 1944, and arrests for girls under twenty-one showed a 134.0 per cent rise. During the war year of 1944 an estimated 1,393,655 major crimes were committed. With the passing of each hour during 1944, more than 158 serious crimes were reported to local police officers in the United States. Each day, on the average, brought twenty-eight felonious killings, thirty rapes, 150 aggravated assaults, and left 120 persons robbed, 555 with their automobiles stolen, and the homes of business places of 749 others burglarized. In addition, 2,176 larcenies occurred during the average day. This is crime on the march with youthful offenders leading a criminal army of 6,000,000.

The over-all crime picture for 1945 leaves no basis for hope. During the first nine months of last year there was an increase of 10.3 per cent in major crimes the same period in 1944. There are more arrests of boys and girls seventeen years old than in any other age group. Youths under twenty-one account for more than one fifth of all arrests. Since

* Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice.

1939, for example, there has been a 375 per cent increase in arrests of girls under eighteen for prostitution and other sex offenses.

As carefully as the physician studies causative factors in disease, we of the FBI have had the opportunity of reviewing case histories outlining youthful participation in crime. Although each case may reflect a different pattern of crime, the underlying elements of causation tend to repeat themselves. Responsibility for youthful offenders certainly must rest somewhere. At an age when close guidance is needed, it is found more often than not that youngsters are deprived of counsel and left on their own to drift helplessly into the whirlpool of evil activity. The case of Ray, Max, and Charles is typical. These youthful offenders, ages thirteen and fourteen, began careers in crime by stealing an automobile. After driving it 200 miles they abandoned the car in the vicinity of the theft, after having stolen from it a .22 caliber target pistol, two boxes of cartridges, and a quart of whisky which they attempted to consume. Within four days they stole four additional automobiles which they abandoned after stripping the cars. Several days later, when two more cars were reported stolen from the same area, an effort was made by law enforcement officers to block every road. The boys, in possession of the two stolen automobiles, made a deliberate attempt to run over a sheriff as he tried to stop them. Later they abandoned both vehicles and proceeded to a neighboring city where they stole two other automobiles, one of which they soon wrecked. After about a week of idleness, the youths stole three cars in rapid succession. They burglarized a store, and it was also discovered that they had obtained gasoline by breaking the locks on the gasoline storage tanks of a local dealer. The boys were captured and, upon pleas of guilty, were sentenced to several indeterminate terms in a state industrial school.

Prior to these activities, none of the youthful offenders had ever been involved in any serious trouble with the police. Thirteen-year-old Ray had never known any home restrictions. Max, who was fourteen years of age, was brought up in a lax home. Permission was granted for him to do as he pleased. His mother was a chronic liar and believed her son was in the right regardless of the circumstances. Charles's parents were unable to control their boy. He was allowed to associate with a drunken uncle who forced the boy to drink whisky with him. Charles was a confirmed liar.

Juvenile delinquency is a problem that should be the major concern of every community in the nation because its vicious effects are causing unlimited anxiety in our daily lives. It is a local problem. Conditions vary in each community and each

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A Crime

Where Lies the Guilt? *

HE WAS a good kid," the brother said. "He didn't drink before he went to war. In the tavern he was drinking heavily and he's just barely nineteen. He was hit by shrapnel in the European war and still has some paralysis left from hip wounds."

Private Walter Blattert, "the kid," is held by the police on a charge of first-degree murder.

Discharged from the Army as a medical case and awarded his Order of the Purple Heart, he began frequenting barrooms. Drinks were easy to obtain. A wounded veteran! Everybody loves a hero! Buy the kid another drink!

One of the places he was in the habit of visiting was a tavern on Southfield. On the Saturday night of December 29 he went there again. They plied him with liquor. There he met a woman old enough to be his mother. They sat together and drank far into the night.

Toward morning they left the joint together. On their way to wherever they were going they crossed a schoolyard. An argument started. He slapped her and she slapped him. In an alcoholic rage he killed her.

A case of war neurosis?

Perhaps.

It does not matter.

That is something for the psychiatrists, the scientists of the mind, to determine, not a layman.

But there must needs press upon the public conscience of the people of Detroit a haunting question:

Why was a boy, "barely nineteen," served drinks through the evening in a licensed saloon in violation of the law?

Also, in further violation of the law, why were these people, already drunk, supplied with more booze?

The answer is not difficult to find and requires no specialized knowledge either of sociology or psychiatry.

This might have happened in any one of a thousand saloons that persistently and consistently violate the law.

They violate the law because competition in the business is so fierce that they feel they have to do so in order to make the place pay a profit.

They are able to do this because they can get away with it. They have almost complete immunity from real punishment.

* An editorial from *Detroit Free Press*, January 8, 1946. Used with permission.

If they are brought before the Michigan State Liquor Commission for law violations—such as serving drinks to minors—they are let off with a mild fine or are told to remain closed for a few days.

Usually it is just a fine. This they do not mind paying. It is a sort of illegal tax for the privilege of violating the law. They can make up any of these small nominal fines in one evening's business.

If they get into a really serious jam, the license is seldom revoked. It is peddled to someone else, as though it were a piece of property instead of a permit. Or, if the place is really shut down, a transfer is arranged. The original owner usually has a stooge take over in his name and the same proprietorship continues.

That is why there is this "brisk brokerage business" of which Pat Aaron, chairman of the Liquor Control Commission, speaks and deplores, Oh, so sadly.

Too much competition?

Yes! The law provides that there should be no more than 1,100 such licenses in Detroit.

But there are 2,700 of them.

That means that there are 1,600 joints illegally allowed to do business in this city.

The State Liquor Commission should enforce the law by taking from the law violators their licenses—and refuse to issue any more until the legal limit of 1,100 has been reached.

Then the law would be observed.

That license would have such value that the proprietor of every tavern would police his own place.

The business would be sufficient to make a good profit within the law.

But Chairman Aaron is very vague about all this.

We asked him about it seven months ago, and all he wanted to tell us about was his holy crusade against a beer tavern on the other side of the tracks in the little town of Remus (population 475) up in the pine country. Reporters, who rushed to Remus to find out about the heroic battle for righteousness, found that the joint had been put out of business because it didn't have a toilet.

O'Larry's bar in Detroit, exposed by the Sigler grand jury as a den of thieves and murderers, apparently has good toilet facilities. It is still allowed to run.

"He was a good kid, but—"

Where lies the guilt?

That is the question for this community to answer.

Cotton Pickers' Triumph

By David S. Burgess

Mr. Burgess, young Congregational Church Home Missionary, was himself the moving mind and spirit in the organization and strategy of the effective opposition described in this article. Its success is a tribute to his determination that these former sharecroppers should not be robbed of their opportunity to make of Delmo Homes a community of self-supporting, self-reliant farmers.

A YEAR ago Shorty Wilson, a bent and illiterate cotton picker of southeast Missouri, remarked bitterly, "It used to be while we lived in them tenant houses—not fit for pigs even—the landlord would dig us out and make us work for him for nothing to 75 cents a day—or get out of our houses." Then, pointing to his neat, four-room furnished Delmo house rented to him by the Farm Security Administration for a nominal fee, he smiled broadly: "Here the planters can't order us around. We can hire out at any price we want to. My kids can go to school regular like, without paddling through gumbo mud. Here us working class of folks have a say." But that very evening Shorty learned that the Delmo Labor Homes, 579 dwellings situated in ten projects, were to be sold on the auction block to the highest bidders—meaning the large planters bent upon scattering the houses where working folk "live too close together"—and to the real-estate interests with an eye on profits. He announced to Annie, his wife: "If this here house we've been alivin' in come five years is sold out from under us, I'm not goin' back to them pigsty shacks. No, ma'am! We'll have another highway demonstration like '39, when them planters was agoin' to throw us out into the snow."

It happened in southeast Missouri last spring. Under the pressure of the local Congressman, Orville Zimmerman, and his other conservative colleagues in Washington, who were likewise influenced by their planter constituents, the Farm Security Administration was forced to announce the sales date for the homes. Local Farm Security Administration officials began to urge the Delmo residents to move, "to get out and make a sharecrop before it was too late." The local press, confident of the project's quick liquidation of the "socialistic housing fiasco," announced that "piece by piece, plank by plank, joist by joist, memory by memory . . . these gaunt and battered abodes of a heterogeneous conglomeration of occupational miscellany will be sold to the highest bidder."

Worried, heckled, seeing some of their number moving out, the Delmo residents, most of whom were farm workers, united for action. A local

organizer of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union was asked to aid. The Delmo people drew up a petition protesting the sale. It was signed by 606 people, and taken to Washington by six of the residents, their travel expenses covered by the occupants themselves. They tramped the capital's streets to visit the offices of Congressmen, Government officials, and the President. They persuaded Senator Briggs of Missouri to sponsor a measure directing the Farm Security Administration to sell the houses to the present occupants, but that was defeated by the intervention of the Farm Security Administration administrator. Then Congressman Hook of Michigan introduced a similar bill in the House, but even after a lengthy hearing it was shelved. All seemed lost.

In the meantime the Farm Security Administration officials and certain Congressmen had received a flood of mail from aroused liberals and organizations throughout America. The Farm Security Administration postponed the sales date several times, and finally a plan, suggested by two Congressmen and approved by the agency, was devised. This was the plan: each Delmo family and any other non-landowning family in the area should put up $100 per family as a down payment on a house. The sums would be held by a group of "financially responsible" individuals in St. Louis who had already shown their interest in the plight of the Delmo occupants. These St. Louisans led by Bishop William Scarlett of the Episcopal Church and a businessman would form a corporation and on August 23 put in a bid, representative of the amount of cash collected from the applicants for each one of the ten projects.

The plan was accepted. Meetings took place, leaders were elected to aid individuals to make out their money order for $100 and to interpret the needs of the residents to the St. Louis group. Finally, the Delmo people raised over $30,000 from their allotment checks, meager savings, and every conceivable source. The corporation submitted a bid on each one of the projects, along with the rival bids. All bids were promptly rejected by the Farm Security Administration, with the exception of a bid by a business concern on one project containing thirty houses. Defeat again seemed inevitable, though 549 houses still hung in the balance.

Then the St. Louis group, later known as the Delmo Housing Corporation, opened negotiations with the Farm Security Administration, but the agency still made the "high dollar" the only yardstick for the sale. Action started. At the consent of the project leaders, the total price on each house was raised to $800 by the corporation, down payments remaining at $100. A quick money-raising campaign resulted in gifts totaling

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Inflation and the Work of the Church

By D. Allan Locke *

THE question has been asked, "How will the work of the Church be affected *if* we have inflation?" The question is wrongly worded. Inflation *is today* affecting a great deal of Church life.

The Government, through price controls and other means, has done and is doing much to keep inflation in check. Inflation, however, is a matter of degree. It can vary from a mild form to a "runaway" type. There are many evidences today of an inflation that is more than mild, and there are other factors that indicate the possibilities of a major inflationary movement.

The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics Cost of Living Index reports an increase of 29 per cent in living costs since 1941. This index, however, is based largely on staples that have been somewhat controlled, and does not show the full extent of price rises. Residential real estate prices have skyrocketed in may areas.

To add to the danger in our economy, there exists today a large pent-up demand for goods accompanied by a shortage of products and a vast accumulation of currency and savings awaiting a chance to be spent. Furthermore, the continued unbalanced Federal Government budget, requiring financing by borrowing directly or indirectly from banks, increases the amount of money in circulation and bank credit, and adds to the excess purchasing power. Foreign loans, which will be in the billions, will have much the same effect by increasing the volume of outstanding credit. These factors lead in one direction—toward the lowering of the dollar value and increasing the upward pressure on prices and wages, i. e., further inflation.

The effect that the present price conditions and possible further inflation may have on the work of the Church is discussed in the following pages, particularly as related to the local Church, the missionary enterprises, and the participants in the pension program.

In the Local Church

Under inflationary conditions both prices and wages will rise, but prices will move farther and faster than wages. The tendency for prices to outstrip wages is exaggerated as inflation grows. As prices rise in relation to income, the proportion of income devoted to food, clothing, shelter, et cetera, will increase and reduce funds available for other purposes, including contributions.

* Secretary of Finance, Budget and Finance Committee, General Council of the General Assembly, the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

At the same time the operating costs of the local Church will increase. Heat, light, printing, repairs, maintenance and other costs will rise. Salaries are more controllable, but a Church must seriously consider the predicament of its minister if it continues to pay the usual salary in the face of inflation.

Assume a 50 per cent increase in staple costs such as food and clothing (official price indexes on these articles in 1945 show an increase of 40 per cent in food and 48 per cent in clothing over 1941), a minister's salary of $2,000 will buy only what $1,333 would have bought him previously. A 50 per cent rise in costs is thus about the same as a salary reduction of one third. To state it another way: it would take a $3,000 salary to equal the purchasing power of the $2,000 originally paid.

If a local Church has interest payments to make, it pays the same number of dollars, but they are cheaper dollars which, of course, is to its advantage. On the contrary, a Church building fund will depreciate in value the same as the minister's salary. As building costs rise, the total dollars in the building fund will buy less.

In the Missionary Enterprise

The problem of the individual Church in an inflationary period is multiplied many times in General Assembly's benevolence agencies.

About one fifth of the income of our Boards comes from interest on invested funds and sources other than contributions. During the past few years, although total invested funds have increased, income from these sources has declined because of falling interest rates and other factors beyond the control of the Boards. It is likely that this situation will continue. This inability to increase investment income would be serious in normal times, but when it occurs at a time of inflationary costs, even as they are today, it becomes doubly dangerous, since the value of the investment income dollar depreciates with the increasing costs.

The other major source of receipts of the Boards is, of course, contributions. During this period of rising prices contributions have steadily increased from $5,267,712 in 1940-1941 to $7,103,633 in 1944-1945. This increased giving has been exceedingly important, but because of expanding inflationary costs it has provided only a small percentage more than necessary to keep the missionary work going at an equivalent of 1941.

Should inflation get out of control, bringing the possibility of a curtailment of contributions, it is evident that the work of our missionary enterprises would have to be severely reduced. With a triple combination of declining investment income, reduced contributions, and increasing

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A Technique for Stability

From "After the War" Bulletin *

THE American worker wants security in his job and a chance to plan for the future. American industry has great need for mitigating the often severe fluctuations in the demand for what it produces. In order to achieve, or at least approximate, both of these purposes, the annual wage has been urged by many as an effective means.

It is obvious that anyone is handicapped who does not know whether he will have a job tomorrow. He hesitates to make a down payment on a home, or to purchase by installment an automobile, a refrigerator, clothes, or other essentials he and his family need. The merchant likewise hesitates. Just how far can I go, he asks himself, in giving credit to a man who may lose his job tomorrow or next week? All this is bad for business. But even worse is the continuous harassment of uncertainty and fear thrust upon the worker through no fault of his own.

From the point of view of industry it has been demonstrated in a few cases that the introduction of an annual wage has been accompanied by an increase in profits and stability. No businessman objects to that. Nor does he object to better morale and security for his workers. But unfortunately there are many types of industries where fluctuations in production are great, in which it is difficult—some business leaders say impossible—to establish an annual wage.

Three Types of Annual Wage

"Annual wage" is a term that blankets various techniques for providing stability of employment. The unconditional guarantee, assuring the worker of so many weeks' work at such and such pay without qualification, is rare, if it exists at all. More common are guarantees of a minimum number of hours worked, an agreed percentage of gross sales regularly divided among the workers, or of a minimum weekly income in off seasons.

There have been failures in the application of guaranteed wage plans and there have been successes. Three exceptionally successful plans typify different methods evolved to fit different situations. These are the plans operating at the Procter and Gamble Company, the Nunn-Bush Shoe Company, and the George A. Hormel Company.

Soap and shortening, chief products of Procter and Gamble, are used fairly evenly throughout the year. But the company found that jobbers,

* Bulletin of Institute on Postwar Reconstruction, New York University, December, 1945. Used with permission.

waiting for the most advantageous price, bunched their orders. The result was periods of overwork followed by periods of relative idleness. It was necessary to maintain equipment for 140 to 150 per cent of average production to meet peaks and to leave much of the equipment idle during slack periods.

By building up a large sales force which sold directly to the retailer and by acquiring widely dispersed storage facilities, the company succeeded in evening out production so that it worked from ninety to ninety-five per cent of capacity all the time. This was not only a saving in expense; it permitted the application of a guaranteed wage plan, which was introduced in 1923.

Operation of the plan is simple. In effect, the worker is guaranteed forty-eight weeks' work in the calendar year provided he is willing to take any job the company can give to him. His pay is controlled by the rate that covers the specific job he is working on, which means that he might be transferred if necessary to a lower-paying job, although it is not apparent that this often happens in practice. The guarantee covers all employees who have been with the company two or more years and applies to the standard work week whether it is forty, forty-five, or forty-eight hours. During the depression, however, the guarantee was limited to seventy-five per cent of the established work week. The company reserves the right to discharge any employee at any time and to amend or terminate the guarantee upon due notice.

In a recent address before the American Management Association, Richard R. Deupree, president of the company, after speaking of the financial savings due to the stabilization of production and employment, made the following comment:

"All these production and marketing economies were important, but none of them approached what we will call the intangibles—the benefits resulting from the change in the state of mind in the employee who knew he had a regular job. With steady employment he could plan his own life, the purchase of the home itself, the purchase of the things he wanted in his home, the schooling of his children, the hundred and one things that those of us on a salaried basis seldom think of as problems for the man who works in a plant and who doesn't know whether he has a regular job or not."

The Nunn-Bush Shoe Company of Milwaukee introduced a flexible wage plan in 1935 which has attracted wide attention and comes close to being an unconditional wage guarantee. The details of the plan are rather complicated, but in essence it provides each employee with a percentage of the wholesale value of the goods produced during the year. The total labor force is

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For Tim

Steel Strike

The steel strike may be over by the time this report of my visit to Pittsburgh is read. That will not mean, however, that the report is irrelevant, for a strike is a symptom of trends and conditions that are seldom fully resolved by the outcome of the strike itself. In general, my Pittsburgh visit followed the pattern of the earlier one to Detroit, reported in the February issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS.

When some 750,000 members of a union strike against the nation's most powerful corporation, there is a social conflict with the most serious possibilities. In the past, on a far smaller scale, these conflicts have resulted in physical clashes and violence and I was therefore tremendously impressed with the outward quietness of the situation.

Cutbacks and Wages

The outstanding issue is, of course, the demand of the union for a 25-cent an hour increase, later reduced to 18½ cents in co-operation with President Truman's request. The threat at the heart of the current cutback in wages has plowed deeply into the minds of steel workers. Up to V-J day the men were working 40 hours a week at straight hourly rates with six or seven additional hours at time and a half overtime; now the vast majority are working only the 40 hours. That means deep cuts in the take-home pay; $43, $50, and $60 a month were figures given me by men on the picket line with whom I talked. But their families are as large and as hungry as before, and neither rent nor food nor other costs have been cut back. The men dispelled any preconceived thought that they were doing more than just breaking even, even with the overtime in their war earnings. They were in frank agreement that largely due to pressure from both the union and management they subscribed to war bonds, but sold them later in considerable amounts to meet the needs of family support.

The question of union finances is of interest in this connection. Under the constitution of the United Steel Workers Union, initiation dues are $3.00. Also by constitutional provision, monthly dues may not go below $1.00 or above $1.50, each local union having power to determine the actual figure. During the strike every employed member of the staff of the United Steel Workers Union pays his full salary into the strike fund.

While strikers feel their wage demands are necessary and reasonable, those in management assert that they are preposterous and suicidal. These demands are declared to be so out of line with any former wage increase in

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the history of the industry that they would throw the price structure out of balance, hurting not only the industry but the nation's entire economy. Several men with whom I talked deplored the tendency toward a general, national wage rise policy as found in the General Motors, steel, oil, and other Government findings. Industries and companies within single industries, they declared, are too varied at too many vital points to have their labor costs lumped together in a common arithmetic.

Obviously, here is a serious head-on collision. The point at issue may perhaps be phrased thus: Who is going to pay the greater share in the cost of reconversion: the wage earner, the stockholder, or the consumer? I feel no competence to judge the financial practices of industry, but one cannot disregard the human values at stake in any serious and prolonged decrease in the take-home pay, and a corresponding decrease in consumer purchasing power.

Mutual Mistrust There is a further clash at the point of the union itself. I was not prepared for the extent or the strength of the feeling on the part of the strikers that the United States Steel Corporation is "out to bust the union." On the other hand, there is no apparent bitterness toward Benjamin J. Fairless, president of the corporation. He is not held ultimately responsible; but, rather, those in still higher authority.

Among those in management I found a feeling of "danger ahead" in the purpose and power of organized labor, and particularly of the C I O. How widespread this is throughout management I cannot say. One industrialist with whom I talked indicated that as it had been necessary to check economic groups in American life—the railroads, the banks, and others—so the turn of organized labor has come. Now, they said, is the time to do it, both legislatively and industrially. Another whose influence extends far beyond steel is convinced that the C I O leadership is a definite menace to the free institutions that are characteristic of the traditional American way of life.

The Public To the public, the following would seem to be important. First, the feeling of the steel worker that he is facing a union-busting campaign stirs his sense of insecurity at a sensitive and vulnerable point. Here lies a great difference between British and American industrial relations. Long since the British trade-union movement has based its policies upon the acceptance by British industry of trade-unions. Whether or not

the American wage earner is justified, he believes that powerful groups in American industry are out to break unions. The fact that he has grounds for apprehension and mistrust creates in him a militant approach to industrial relations.

Secondly, there is an important question as to the point at which the growth and demands of organized labor cease to be a legitimate and necessary extension of democracy and become a menace to democracy. That there are within the labor movement excesses and defects and individuals who are impelled by a love of power is apparent: but that is neither surprising nor unique. Those both inside and outside the labor movement must be alert to these weaknesses, but must recognize also that objective conditions change as do insights as to what is just and good. Industry itself has undergone vast changes, and the same is true of organized labor. If democracy is to continue, it must express itself through changes in group practices and relationships, and these changes must be judged, not in terms of the old or the new, but of their total effect upon human dignity and social justice.

Related Issues

Two further issues are of great concern to both the union and the corporation. The first concerns the eligibility of corporations under certain conditions for tax rebates from the United States Treasury. Whatever may be the facts in a particular situation, labor is generally aware that such tax rebates are provided for industry as a whole by Congress: and that these rebates, whatever their original intent, may become, in effect, a form of subsidy to the corporations against loss through strikes.

Secondly, the corporation has made much of the alleged violation of contract by the union in calling a strike. I talked about this with the representatives of both management and the union and I have read the contract. I feel that it is one of those questions capable of two interpretations which appear to justify diametrically opposing courses. I am satisfied that each side has a strong case, and that neither the integrity nor sincerity of the one should be called in question by the other—or by the public. This situation is an illustration of human relations becoming strained, not because of evil intentions, but because of misunderstanding rising out of the confusion caused by the ambiguity of words.

Medical Care for Everyone?

A Review *

WHEN the late President Roosevelt included "the right to adequate medical care" in the Economic Bill of Rights which he proposed in January, 1944, he stated an accepted principle. How that principle should be achieved is one of the most exciting questions before the American people today and one on which there is sharp difference of opinion.

The depression gave rise to prepaid hospital plans which, starting in Texas in 1931, grew rapidly in urban centers throughout the country until they now embrace some eighteen million people. Once these plans had established the principle of prepayment for medical costs, voluntary, nonprofit organizations were soon set up in many communities to provide doctors' services on an insurance basis.

At the same time, the idea of compulsory health insurance attracted new and powerful support. In 1939 Senator Robert A. Wagner introduced a bill in Congress for a national health insurance system. Now, however, attention is centered on the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill, a broader program including compulsory Federal health insurance.

Organized Medicine's View

The American Medical Association opposes any substantial change in the way doctors are paid and objects strongly to the proposals for compulsory Federal health insurance embodied in the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill.

According to the A.M.A., American health is at a high level and the medical system requires only those minor adjustments which any operating machine needs from time to time. To improve medical care, the Association advocates increased Federal aid for construction of hospitals and health centers.

Dr. Morris Fishbein, editor of the *Journal* of the A.M.A., calls compulsory Federal health insurance "socialized medicine" and says that it "places the politician between the doctor and his patient." The A.M.A. has, however, withdrawn its original opposition to voluntary prepayment and now advocates voluntary sickness insurance plans and their extension to all localities. Some fifty prepayment plans sponsored by state and county medical societies are now in operation.

Organized medicine favors the indemnity type of medical insurance which furnishes the patient with the funds with which to pay the physician. It opposes "group health" or-

* From *Program Information Bulletin*, October, 1945. The Program Information Exchange, Inc., New York, N. Y. Used with permission.

ganizations which employ doctors and provide their services on a prepayment basis. Medical societies wish to prevent a system which would place the doctor in an employee relationship to a third party, thus destroying his present position as an independent contractor in relation to the patient.

Federal Health Insurance

Proponents of national compulsory health insurance deny that health care is adequate in the United States. They cite the serious conditions brought to light by the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care in 1928-1931 and by the later National Health Survey. They point out that the poorest segment of the population has the most sickness and receives the least medical care; that the Southeastern States and sparsely populated rural areas generally are shockingly undersupplied with doctors and hospitals. They argue that even in wealthy communities, such as New York City, where there is a technically adequate supply of personnel and facilities, people in the lowest income group are still forced to seek medical care as a matter of charity and not as a matter of right. Even people in the middle income group are frequently prevented from securing needed care by the high cost of medical services. It is argued that doctors themselves, as well as the auxiliary professions of dentistry and nursing, need compulsory health insurance since the present system produces low average incomes for those in the health field.

The principal contention of supporters of national health insurance is that every person should have access to the best care medical science can provide, irrespective of the ability to pay. Thus, in their view, the tax power must be invoked if the right to adequate medical care is to become a reality.

A Third Possibility

A position midway between these two views holds that while the medical system needs radical remodelling, the quickest and best way to accomplish the objective in the immediate future is to stimulate voluntary action in local communities through nonprofit agencies linked up with existing hospital plans. Most supporters of this view favor the Hill-Burton Bill (S. 191) which would provide Federal aid to poor states and communities for the maintenance of adequate medical personnel. They emphasize the importance of local action because they believe that health services should be controlled locally where the services are rendered.

As a base for the development of such a decentralized program, there are over 200 hospital plans and some 300 medical plans now in operation throughout the country. The most significant voluntary, community-wide project thus far put forward is

ayor La Guardia's for New York ity, embodied in the Health Insurnce Plan of Greater New York, hich is in process of organization. lso operating in New York City e United Medical Service, an oranization sponsored by the local edical societies, and Group Health o-operative, which has pioneered local experiments and helped to imulate development of the may-r's plan.

Teamwork Medicine

Included in the changes advocated y supporters of voluntary action is he development of medical group ractice. Teamwork medicine, they sist, is the only rational answer to he specialization which modern edical science has made necessary. he general practitioner alone is indequate. The solo specialist is angerous. The answer is to bring hem together in an organized relaionship such as characterizes the staffs of teaching hospitals. Group practice, they also point out, results in substantial economies because equipment, facilities, and auxiliary personnel are pooled.

Supporters of this view say that since the group is responsible for services rendered, this type of practice eliminates abuses, such as padding of bills and unnecessary surgery, to which medical prepayment plans are subject, whether the plans be compulsory or voluntary.

A further argument is that the United States cannot do without a measure of the experience with voluntary health insurance which every large country with compulsory health insurance systems went through before adopting its national plan. The result of premature adoption of a Federal system here, they say, would be a medical service unsatisfactory to all concerned but difficult to change because of the magnitude of the undertaking.

Alcoholism

"Alcoholism is the primary drug habit of Western civilization. . . . We who are interested in the grave problem of increasing alcoholism with all it means in terms of crime, poverty, degradation, and social and individual disorganization will not merely treat the individual and seek to resign him to an inevitable abstinence. We will not limit ourselves to establishing good hospitals, clinics, research centers, and groups dedicated to the treatment of alcoholism. We will also work for wise social regulation and for the creation of that sound attitude which frowns on heavy drinking and applauds and rewards temperance."

—Abraham Myerson, M. D.,
in Alcohol Hygiene, *December, 1945.*

Invitation to Action

This is a call to all Presbyterians to unite in a post-Easter program of World Order under the theme "Toward World Community."

There is much in the situation to make us respond. April 25 is the first anniversary of the United Nations Conference at San Francisco. The first meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations will have recently come to an end and the great Paris Conference, drawing up final peace settlements, will be opening.

Even greater compulsions to co-operation issue from the inner life of the Church. Easter's triumphant message challenges the world to new life and fellowship bringing its song of triumph into all its human relationships. As this is written, a special committee of the World Council of Churches is making plans for a meeting in February, on the agenda of which are included topics dealing with international relations. A specially called meeting of the Federal Council of Churches will be held in early March, its purpose being to issue a statement of program of the thinking and purpose of American Protestantism on World Order.

In keeping with an earlier announcement of the year's program of the World Order Movement, we come now to the closing phase "*We the People* Launch the United Nations." The major activity in this post-Easter program, beginning during the week immediately after Easter or the first week of May, is a four-session study course on the theme "Toward World Community" with the following topics:

Session I. The United Nations Organization: Today and Tomorrow.

Session II. The Churches and the Peace Settlements.

Session III. World Issues Confront th American People.

Session IV. Church People Attac World Problems.

The program will be more fully elab rated in the April issue of SOCIAL PRO RESS. But in the meantime every loc Church is urged to set aside at once thes dates for the four study periods and t secure discussion and other leadership.

A study guide will be available early i April and other program and referenc materials will be provided. These will in clude:

1. *World Order and You*, a film stri with lecture script. Showing time abou 25 minutes. *$2.00.*

2. *The MacKenzies Talk About th United Nations.* A series of four 15-minut radio scripts, equally suitable for grou programs. 10 cents.

3. *This Atomic World.* A symposium o addresses by Thorfin Hogness, John Foste Dulles, and Harold E. Stassen, with special introduction by Henry P. Van Dusen. Useful for discussion or report.

4. *What Next in World Order?* by John Paul Jones. A discussion of the continu ing task for the achievement of world order. Useful for review and discussion *10 cents.*

Much has happened since our World Order study groups of last year. We neec to bring ourselves up to date. New situa tions facing today's world call for clear understanding and response if we are to be ready to deal with them effectively. The World Order Movement constituted for its second year by the last General Assembly is again calling Presbyterians to unite in study and action under the theme "Toward World Community" immediately following upon Easter.

The Housing Bill. The Wagner-El-er-Taft Housing Bill represents a busi-sslike attack on the complex problem of ousing a large proportion of American nilies. It is unique in that it pulls to-ther the many scattered parts of the leral Government's Housing Program l places them henceforth under the lection of a single agency.

S. 1592 deserves greatest study by every ılt Christian group. Those who are nded to support this measure are urged write their Senators and Congressmen.

Minimum Wages. The Executive mmittee of the Federal Council, No-nber, 1945, passed the following resolu-n: "Inasmuch as for over thirty years Federal Council of the Churches of rist in America has stood for 'a living ge as a minimum in every industry and the highest wage that industry can ord' and inasmuch as the current pro-ion of 40 cents an hour or $16 for a hour week in the Fair Labor Standards it is wholly inadequate under present sts of living, be it resolved that the Ex-utive Committee of the Federal Council the Churches of Christ in America favors increase of the minimum wage to 65 nts an hour with 75 cents an hour after years in order to provide for our lowest-id workers, under present conditions, adequate American standard of living."

The Pepper-Hook Bill (S. 1349 and H. R. 14) is the legislation calculated to carry the intent of the Federal Council resolu-n. Those desiring to support this bill n write to their own Senators and Con-essmen; to the Senate Committee on lucation and Labor, Chairman, James E. urray; and to the House Committee on bor, Chairman, Mary T. Norton.

A National Science Foundation. Dur-g this period when types of nationalism, ce hatreds, and partisan rivalry too often minated the halls of Congress, one the bright exceptions has been the hear-gs on the National Science Foundation. bill has just been reported to the full Committee on Military Affairs (January, 1946). This bill, S. 1720, is sponsored by Senators Kilgore, Pepper, Johnson (Colorado), Fulbright, and Saltonstall.

On December 18, 1945, the National Committee on Atomic Information was established in Washington, bringing together more than fifty national organizations representing Church, labor, business, women's and other groups. This committee will serve as a clearinghouse for information on the crucial question of atomic energy. Literature will be distributed, and speakers will be provided as part of the services rendered. The committee's address is 1621 K. Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

The following is taken from Presbyterian *Interdenominational News,* January 17, 1946: "Americans of Japanese descent ought to be integrated into American congregations, and not separated into their own Church organizations, according to a recommendation of the Home Missions Council of America, at Buck Hill Falls, Pennsylvania, last week. Only in very exceptional cases should separate Japanese Churches be organized, and these should be interdenominational in character, the statement urged."

Amnesty for War Objectors. Over six thousand objectors to war and conscription have been imprisoned during the war just ended. A Committee for Amnesty, located at 5 Beekman Street, Room 1029, New York 7, N. Y., is at work to urge that executive amnesty be offered these persons whose only crime was fidelity to conscience.

Tydings Resolution, S. R. 219. This bill calls on the President to invite other nations to join us in trying to find a way to reduce armaments. Its passage will not in any way curtail our participation in U N O. Since there is among the Senators sentiment in favor of this resolution it would be helpful for you to let your Senators know how you feel with regard to the action you would like to see taken.

Sanctuary

"Give Us This Day Our Daily Bread"

This is the third of a series of five meditations on the Lord's Prayer prepared by Rev. Stephen J. Mathers, M.A., minister of St. James-Bond United Church, Toronto, Canada, and used in the vesper services of the International Conference on Adult Education at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, during the summer of 1940.

Call to Worship:

Leader: The bread of God is he which cometh down from heaven and giveth life unt the world. I am the bread of life, said Jesus, he that cometh unto me shall nev hunger; and he that believeth on me shall never thirst.

People: Blessed be the Lord God, the God of Israel, who only doeth wondrous thing And blessed be his glorious name forever, and let the whole earth be filled wi his glory. Amen and Amen.
Come, then, and praise the Lord with me, for he is good.

Invocation:

"Almighty and everlasting God, in whom we live and move and have our beir who hast created us for thyself so that our hearts are restless until they find rest thee, grant unto us purity of heart and strength of purpose so that no selfish passio may hinder us from knowing thy will and no weakness from doing it. In thy ligh may we see life clearly, and in thy service find perfect freedom. For thy mercy sake. Amen.

Hymn: "O Worship the King All Glorious Above."

Scripture Lesson: John 6: 22-40; Luke 16: 19-23.

Meditation:

"Give us this day our daily bread."

This is a prayer for physical bread, and so, by legitimate extension, for the materi needs of life—food, clothing, shelter, and so forth. Jesus was concerned about th physical and material well-being of man. And, while we shall later on remind our selves of the other Bread of Life, let us never forget that this is a simple prayer for th simple necessities of everyday life.

We are reminded that God is the giver of all things. In the beginning, Go created the world and all that therein is. It is his. The cattle on a thousand hills a his. He clothes the grass of the field. Upon him and his creation we are utterly de pendent for our physical needs. We need to be reminded of this fact, for we are in danger of forgetting it. Refrigerated cars bring us green vegetables all year long improved canning processes provide us with a variety of food in every season. By ou discoveries we can make plants grow in new and marvelous ways. The desert blossom like the rose. We are not dependent on God—we have conquered nature. But ever time we say, "Give us this day our daily bread," we are brought again to acknowledg

at in spite of all we are able to do it is God who gives the increase. We are dependent
his laws, manifesting his goodness.

ne writer says it is a prayer for bread—not for cake—meaning it is a prayer
r necessities and not for luxuries. It is not a prayer that we may be maintained at
r present level of living. The same author says, "It becomes either sounding brass
a tinkling cymbal or else it will become in our hearts a strong desire and decision to
ve simply, as simply as we can live and keep going the way of service to man and
od." Let us apply that kind of standard to our present-day problems:
hat does this prayer mean for us, when thousands upon thousands are starving, hungry,
ked, and cold?
hat does it mean for us when little children are not able to get away from downtown
ty areas?
ou and I must face the question whether this prayer is a mere platitude or whether
e are willing for the sake of the kingdom of righteousness to live on a basis of necessity.

this petition, as much as anywhere in the prayer, we are under the compulsion
the plural pronoun. It is, "Give us our," not, "Give me my." How easy it would be
pray "me and my"; how natural to live on that basis. So easy and natural is it that
is what we have done—and are in dire danger of continuing to do. We have rattled
er the "us and our," really meaning "me and my," or we have interpreted the "us
nd our" in narrow terms in terms of family, or social group, or community, or nation—
nd then not in terms of the whole of the nation.
oday we must learn to broaden the meaning of "us and our"—to take in the whole
orld—in particular terms of the people of the world—even unto the least and the last.
his must be a prayer that starving Germans and Japanese as well as those in our own
ousehold get their daily bread—and it must then mean that we are ready to do without
ake until all can have cake. Until we are earnestly praying in that spirit we need to
heck our attitudes and desires. Until we pray in that spirit—and work to answer our
rayers—there can be no hope of lasting peace.

his petition then raises many practical concerns: What of those many processes
n our lands by which some get cake with frosting and ice cream by taking bread from
thers. To what extent are we involved in or do we profit by these practices?
hat is to be said of an economic system that maintains our apparent prosperity by
miting the amount of food to be raised, or by destroying it or neglecting it, when
eople in our own and other lands are hungry?
hat debt do we owe to all those persons who give time and talent, energy and life, to
roducing and transporting the necessities of life?
o pray this prayer sincerely drives us back to face these problems as honestly and
ncerely as we can—that the will of God may be done.
nd we must remember in this concern for the physical here emphasized that
an does not live by bread alone—but by every word of God. There is a spiritual
read by which the soul is nurtured. To forego that is to starve indeed—and to render
seless the physical life of man.

et us pray:
-From thee, O Father, we have our life and all that we possess.
-Forgive us our pride and self-sufficiency.
-Teach us to reverence the earth which thou hast made fruitful.

—Teach us our oneness with those by whose labor our food and all necessities a produced and brought across land and sea.
—Fill us with an active pity for the millions in our lands who have not enough to e for the millions in Europe and Asia who suffer from the fear or the reality of famin
—As thou hast given to man the knowledge by which we can produce plenty for all, gi us the wisdom and the desire to make it available to all.
—Thou hast made us men, so that we live, not by bread alone, but by thy word.
—Feed us this day with the words of life.
—Let all that is divine in thy world, the power of truth and love, possess us and wo through us.
—Thou art thyself our life. Live in us day by day. Amen.*

Hymn: "Break Thou the Bread of Life."

Benediction: The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hear and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his son Jesus Christ our Lor and the blessing of God Almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, be amongst us an remain with us, always.

To Truth

"I went up to the light of truth as if into a chariot:
And the Truth took me and led me:
And carried me across pits and gullies;
And from the rocks and waves it preserved me:
And it became to me an instrument of salvation:
And set me on the arms of immortal life:
And it went with me and made me rest, suffered me not to wander, because it was the Truth;
And I ran no risk, because I walked with Him;
And I did not make an error in anything because I obeyed the Truth."

—*From* **Ode XXXVIII of Solomon.**
Translated by J. Rendel Harris.

* From *Pater Noster*, Department of Evangelism and Social Service, United Church of Canad

Uneasy Peace

(Continued from page 7)

ecause of improved communications, far ore could take part in both the danger nd the thinking of wartime.

In this country, where the danger was ast, there was no less thinking—there ndoubtedly was more. And the people aving thought about it, the obscure mechnism of democracy could start functionng. One saw it when the Republicans dopted the Mackinac resolution. One aw it in the campaign of 1944, and later in ne adoption of the UNO charter. As a ation we put isolation behind us. The ause for which Woodrow Wilson fought nd died triumphed.

Design for Peace

That being true, why should we feel unasy? Haven't we won the peace in thinkng through what its nature is? Why can he peace of today be called no more than he cessation of war? The answer is that ve haven't finished thinking through the ature of the peace. We have done two hings, accepted our responsibility for the eace, which is what matters most. And ve also have designed a world organizaion. It is the design which is incomplete. For it is a design for a world which, if it ever fought again, would wage war as World War I and World War II were waged. It would be total war, but it would not be total annihilation.

At the time the design was made it did not satisfy those who recognized that to have lasting peace one must abolish war. More people, I think, than our politicians have any idea of were ready at the time of the San Francisco Conference for a world federation. They had been drilled in the logic that there must be a law above nations, if an end is to be put to the anarchy of war. But those people probably were in a minority at that time, though not so small a minority as the so-called "practical" folks thought. I believe that people began to be uneasy while the San Francisco Conference was going on. There were conflicts in the air that boded no good. The charter seemed inadequate. And, looking ahead, one could see that a development of rocket weapons and air power and electronics was going to make the next war something utterly different from the last two. Besides, collective security in a world of three powers was far less trustworthy than it would have been in the eight-power system in Woodrow Wilson's time. As I said, people began to feel uneasy during and after San Francisco, before the atomic bomb was heard of. And then that burst, and the problem of the peace was utterly changed.

Peace or Annihilation

Now the alternative to peace is not war. It is annihilation. Now peace, at whatever spiritual effort, at whatever ethical price, is the most practical proposition we shall ever have to deal with. Nothing can be called more impractical than to be destroyed. All of man's conservatism is now evoked. If we are to conserve, if we are to spare and save, we must abolish war. Those who say to you that we must merge national sovereignty into a world sovereignty, at least for the control of aggressive weapons and the means to wage war, they are not the radicals. They are the practical men and women of our time. They are the conservatives.

Those who dally with old ideas of sovereignty are the wild-eyed radicals. They are not evil, these men; they are not even wrong. They are just irrational. They can't be blamed for it. But they forfeit their leadership to the guidance of the minds of individuals in the mass, to the American people. If ever in our history the American people must be relied on to do the brave and wise thing, it is now. And if we are uneasy, it is because we know our task is not completed. May we continue to feel uneasy until it gets done.

Delinquents and Tomorrow

(Continued from page 15)

case must be handled on a purely individual basis. In analyzing causes for youthful participation in crime, I am firmly convinced that the home is the most important factor in crime prevention. Like the soft mass in the hands of the sculptor, the immature, pliable minds of youth can be molded for good or evil. Parents are the molders of men. They are also, in the majority of instances, responsible for criminals.

Case after case of youthful crime reflects the sorrowful story of broken homes breeding neglect, immorality, incompatibility, indifference, and a lack of proper discipline. It is an old story of parents who fail to carry out their responsibilities. Our destiny as a great nation depends upon the parents of America. As a result of their influence for good, future doctors, lawyers, statesmen, clergymen, educators, artisans, farmers, and scores of others will strengthen the pillars of our society and continue to influence the thoughts of their children in the generation beyond. Without such foresight America will ultimately crumble. History has recorded such happenings in the past.

Faced as we are with steady increase in crime, it is up to every American to dedicate his energies to this problem; lethargy and indifference have no place in its solution. We are faced with the need for action that will enable youngsters who never had a chance to regain their rightful place in society by removing the forces that have contributed to their delinquency. Complete unity of the home with the Church, the school, and civic organizations that are desirous of building good citizens is an apparent necessity.

If we want a strong citizenry in the future, the home and the community must, not only by theory, but by example, teach the fundamental elements so necessary for a healthy American way of life. German was successful in molding the minds an thoughts of the Hitler *Jugend* with th principles of Nazi ideology. Surely it within our power to influence our ow youth to live and think for America. Th home, as the natural abode of the famil should be the first classroom for the youn ster. Here errors of commission or omi sion should be eliminated and the dai work of building character must be ca ried on without fail. There can be r greater influence than the moral force the home. If we care to make trut character, wisdom, honesty, and faith co ditions precedent to good citizenship, tha the home must serve to teach these pr cepts.

The fundamental responsibility of pa ents to rear good citizens cannot be del gated to someone else. It is true, course, that the Church, the school, an other worth-while organizations assist in measurably in preventing a breakdown law and order. It is certain that if ou young people are to be taught obedience the laws of the land, a love for the order processes of government, and a desire fo ethical forms of behavior, the strengthe ing effect of religious training becom apparent. Religious teaching as a nece sary factor in the child's formative years a matter which apparently has been light brushed aside by many parents in Ame ica. It is difficult to understand why man mothers and fathers refuse to afford their children the wholesome, healthfu character-building environment of th Church. If we are to eliminate greed, dis honesty, moral instability, and a score o other influences that tend to lure youth o the road to crime, it is certain that chi dren must be allowed to participate i every avenue of endeavor that has chara ter building as its fundamental objectiv If this is not done, the youthful offende of today will be dangerous criminals withi the next five or ten years.

Cotton Pickers' Triumph

(Continued from page 19)

ver $30,000 from Marshall Field, the Na-onal Sharecroppers Fund, the Episcopal iocese of Missouri, and other liberal or-anizations and individuals. Finally, the 49 houses in the nine projects were sold n November 12 to the Delmo Housing orporation for $285,000 to be paid over ne next eight years. On January 1 a ull-time corporation manager was em-loyed. The next day elated residents egan to make payments on their homes.

What is the significance of this victory ver a hostile Congress, a conservative overnment agency, and the planter in-erests? Locally, it was the second time hat these former sharecroppers had ever nited in a common cause and had suc-essfully defied dominating political pow-rs of the area, the first being the highway emonstration of 1939, which resulted in he building of the homes. Nationally, the ictory proved that a Government agency nd Congress will respond favorably to a lood of letters written by persons who give heir reasons for holding an opinion. Aroused liberals as far away as New Eng-and and California, together with many Delmo residents and native Missourians, et their Congressmen and Senators know. The legislative representatives of labor nions, progressive farmers' organizations, iberal political associations, Church, Negro, and women's groups, as well as of-icials high and low in the Federal Govern-ment who did an "inside job," converged on Washington. Sustained pressure was brought by all these groups with such uni-ormity of opinion with regard to the Delmo Housing Project that the Federal Farm Security Administration, which had been selling its lands and liquidating its proj-ects mainly to the interest of the large planters and farmers, saw the handwriting on the wall and was finally persuaded to give its consent to the compromise plan.

In addition, the Church played an important part in the struggle. Victory might never have come had it not been for the persistence of Bishop Scarlett and his willingness to solicit the aid of proven liberals, for the sound business ability of Rev. Charles Wilson of the Grace Episcopal Church in St. Louis and his patience in receiving the $100 down payments and answering hundreds of letters from the Delmo occupants, and finally for the decision of the Congregational Christian Board of Home Missions to release one of its staff members to work full time in the interests of these occupants. On the local scene the lay preachers living in the projects proved to be the "rousers." They inspired the people, explained the intricacies of the campaign, and always emphasized the religious significance of this workers' fight to gain their homes and their freedom "from the land of bondage." Yet these leaders know that this victory is only one of the first steps in freeing the Delmo residents from the effects of the anarchistic yet serf-like sharecropper way of life where hope is thin and endeavor limp. Tomorrow, with the flush of victory gone, the occupants' rampant individualism will reappear. But it can be combated, the lay preachers tell us, if only the people can be trained in the ways of co-operation and helped to understand the meaning of true neighborliness and workers' unity. What an opportunity for the Church, for labor unions, for co-operatives—for Christians!

Pay a visit someday to the home of Shorty Wilson, and you will know the true meaning of the Delmo victory. The walls are papered, the floors clean. The lawn is neat, the garden well-planted. A porch has been added, and the paint, which Shorty had bought co-operatively with his neighbors, is bright. And Shorty, who last night was elected to the project council, is saying to his wife: "It's no pigsty or highway for us. Someday, Annie, we'll own this here house. Some good outside folks help us git it. Now we have to make good and do right."

About Books

A Price for Peace—The New Europe and World Markets, by Antonin Basch. Columbia University Press. $2.50.

Sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of History and Economics, and with a foreword by Professor James T. Shotwell, this book lives up to expectations. Its author writes from a diversified experience in central Europe in government, banking, and business management, and in university teaching in Europe and America. He was an official of the National Bank of Czechoslovakia and has represented his Government at various economic conferences, including Bretton Woods, and was the Czech delegate at the Bank of International Settlements at Basel. For five years he was managing director of leading chemical companies in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. He is now in the Department of Economics at Columbia.

"Europe can maintain her standard of living, her level of production, and the welfare of her peoples only as an integral part of a well-functioning world economy." The author fully substantiates this central theme and also its reverse: There cannot be a well-functioning world economy unless Europe is an integral part of it.

Starting with Europe after World War I he cites figures to show the dislocating economic effects of the political changes that led to World War II. Economic nationalism led to increasing Government intervention and bureaucracy, with an emphasis on more equitable distribution of existing production rather than on lifting the level of living for all by increasing production.

Antonin Basch insists that all nations must cease the struggle for economic self-sufficiency, a foolish policy that has caused some nations to produce agricultural products at higher costs to their own people than they could have been bought fro other nations better suited to grow them and the same has been true in the area manufacture. He advocates the commo sense procedure of each nation producin those things which it can produce best an cheapest to sell to other nations for th things they can produce best and cheape

This can be done only in a world fr from war and threat of war; but this polic will itself help to promote peace. He see the importance of Germany at the cente of Europe's economy and urges the nece sity of a common program by the victo for dealing with her. A greater integratio of European continental economy is indi pensable and the policy of restrictive trad must be replaced by a policy of trade e pansion. To those who tend to think Europe in terms of the nations of the we and north, Mr. Basch's discussion of co ditions in the southeastern nations of Eu rope with their needs and opportunities fo trade will provide a valuable correctiv and supplement.

Of the responsibility of the Unite States, the writer says: "It is clear tha expanding world trade will depend on th re-establishment of a multilateral syste in which the United States is ready to ac cept an increasing volume of imports an maintain for a number of years a steadi flow of long-term capital." The alterna tive, he declares, is continued economi and political disintegration.

At times one wishes the author had bee more specific. But when one remember that this book was written while the war in Europe was still raging, the wonder grow that it could be as definite and accurate a it is. One's confidence in his long-rang judgments is increased by noting that hi judgments on the immediate postwar situa tion are proving out.

This is a book for ministers and other

read for background. It is clearly written, speaks with authority, is constructive, and full of common sense. It is a book to pass on to businessmen and others interested in the economic reconstruction of the world. Everything in it supports the conviction that the Economic and Social Council may become in the long term the most important agency of the United Nations organization.

GEORGE W. KIEHL.

See Here, Private Enterprise! by H. Gabin Bagger. The Island Workshop Press Cooperative, Inc. Cloth, $2.50; paper, $1.50.

This is a chatty little book endeavoring to give the facts behind our industrial setup which determine our everyday life. The author hopes thereby to help to create more intelligent voters.

Over and over throughout the book the author indicates how industry has been draining the society rather than society draining it. The average man whom he represents by his character, John, indicates the normal hopes and desires of Mr. Average America, namely, full employment and the ability for every man to develop himself to the extent of his own ability.

As the author exposes John to some of the true facts of life—"Only one person in ten had all they should have had to eat"; "Over 90 per cent of the dividends went to people who did not work for wages"; "One per cent is a majority in the government of big business"—John becomes more and more amazed and more and more concerned about doing something about the forces that rule things.

At another point the author indicates that corporate enterprise has taken over free enterprise. He refers too to the press that is not free because its owners won't permit it to be so. Government bureaus are credited with casting light in certain dark corners. The supreme test of democracy is said to be in its ability to provide full employment.

The illustrations in the book are well-selected and powerful. The introduction promises a great book that never materializes. The style starts out well, but soon becomes repetitious and tiresome. It is intended to show the problems of today's economy in an easy style that anyone might read. I am not sure that this is accomplished.—F.M.C.

Time Bomb, by E. A. Piller. Arco Publishing Company. $2.00.

Time Bomb, as its pages reveal, is well-titled. It is an exposé of individuals and organizations that are attempting to destroy American democracy.

Operating under the guise of superpatriotism and (or) religion, these groups wage sinister campaigns of hate against the American Government, against the workers of America, and against racial and religious minorities.

Almost every large community has been the scene of subversive activities which are usually regarded as local phenomenon of little significance. Most readers will be shocked to learn that there are so *many* "hate" organizations in America, that their hundreds of publications and many public meetings are reaching a vast audience, that they are backed by tremendous financial resources, that they are thriving and growing.

Obviously, the book is based on extensive research and investigation, else the author would not have dared—and he does dare—to call a spade a spade. He cites specific organizations, names the leaders, gives addresses, and quotes from correspondence that was never intended to receive public airing.

Some of the information has been published before. The chief contribution of Piller is to lay bare the connections, the interlockings, of these organizations and leaders. They are dangerously united in a solid front.

The author warns in a preparatory note that some of the groups and individuals

mentioned in the text are not Fascists. They are sincere reactionaries who, wittingly or unwittingly, have aided and have been used by the forces of native Fascism. "The inclusion of their names in these pages does not infer that they deliberately harmed the welfare of America or American democracy."

This warning, which is directed to the reader, should have been heeded more carefully by the author. The distinction between those who are obviously disciples of Fascism and those who are sincere, however misguided, in their devotion to American democracy is sometimes unfairly blurred.

This criticism, however, cannot be pressed too far. It is apparent in retrospect that many German capitalists who in 1933 did not anticipate or desire such excesses as the slaughter of 5,000,000 Jews actually gave decisive support to the phenomenal rise of Fascism when they allied themselves with the Nazis to hold in check progressive forces and, particularly, to destory the labor movement.

It is important to identify the subversive groups that are consciously Fascist. But it is probably even more important for Americans to recognize that even highly respected leaders who unwittingly or with intention oppose socially progressive and constructive forces or support discrimination and injustice may actually constitute the greatest threat to American democracy. —N.E.K.

Teachers for Our Times, a Statement of Purposes by the Commission on Teacher Education, Karl W. Bigelow, Director. American Council on Education. $2.00.

Though published in 1944, *Teachers for Our Times* poses and discusses two queries of ever-increasing importance in any clarified approach toward the development of constructive and ennobling educational experience for both teachers and pupils.

"What," the Commission asks, "is the social significance of teaching and teacher education?" Further, "What are th qualities that should be sought for i teachers who are to guide the nation young people during the generation tha lies ahead?" Pointing out that wise an swers to these questions affect, both mer tally and emotionally, the training and de velopment of the 28,000,000 children taugh annually in our United States schools b approximately 1,000,000 well or poorl trained teachers of various races an creeds, the Commission analyzes our pres ent teacher-training setup in norma schools, teacher training colleges, college of liberal arts, and universities. It als emphasizes the growing realization of th need of a broader base of understanding o our social development as well as of educa tion's part in training for true democrati citizenship. On the quantitive side, a more and more persons are being educate for longer periods of time, requirement for teacher certification are steadily in creasing. From the qualitative standpoin self-questioning as to methods is bringin about revision both of curriculum conten and faculty viewpoint in the teacher training programs offered in the variou types of educational institutions. It is no recognized, the Commission believes, tha special resources both of scholarship an of practical experience must be mad available if teacher trainees are to becom well-informed, well-rounded citizens ca pable of effectively guiding young peopl along the paths of understanding of human relationships, of the ways of community nation, and world society.

Summarizing its findings as to qualitie to be sought for in teachers capable o meeting today's need, the Committee state that while good teachers are never in an given circumstances alike (nor is uniform ity of personality requirement to be striven for in a changing world where excellence can maintain itself only through continu ance of growth) ability to understand an to guide developing minds and emotions to understand and be able to interpre

esent environment and needs in the light the experiences of the past, and to en- ion some concept of the possibilities held rth by the future, are of the essence good teaching in any age.

Today, the Commission notes, there is a oad conception of the school as a hu- an institution whose primary function, ting in co-operation with other commu- ty groups, is to concern itself with the oblems of human needs and relation- ips. With this in mind teachers in the nited States, perhaps in any democracy, ed to be well aware of three basic con- ctions: "First, that personality is of ique worth; secondly, that personality id society are interdependent; and irdly, that through reasoning and work- g together men may best solve their com- on problems, attain their common goals." eachers need to understand and have the urage to act upon the concept, funda- entally demonstrated by our history, that hile today's requirement, because of our creasing interdependence, is for more cial control, more social planning, more cial action, "social growth inevitably aces back to the creative acts on the part individuals."

Teachers for Our Times is an absorbing halysis of the whys and wherefores of the ducational needs of today. Its idealistic et practical concern for the enlightened aining of present and future American itizens should likewise be the concern f every educator, of every civic-minded erson within our democracy if we are ll to learn to live in such manner hat freedom shall not perish."—G.M.M.

Teacher Education in Service, by harles E. Prall and C. Leslie Cushman. merican Council on Education. $3.00.

This report is addressed to public-school dministrators, classroom teachers, and all who have a stake in educational policy." raining in service of "teachers for our mes" and the improvement of school curriculum are found to be most fully achieved through teacher inclusion in staff planning and teacher participation in community activities, not only to meet the needs of wartime emergencies, but also to aid in solving the problems of peace.—G.M.M.

God Is Not Dead, by Bernard Iddings Bell. Harpers. $1.50.

Several of the chapters in this most stimulating book come within the immediate scope of Social Progress. "The Moral Issue," "The Problem of Wealth," "The Church and Social Problems," "The Church and Politics," "The Church and the Workers," "The Church and the Veteran"—all these are subjects that have been dealt with from time to time within the pages of this publication.

Dr. Bell—or Father Bell, as he likes to be called—is probably the most unorthodox of orthodox Churchmen in the Episcopal communion. Avowedly an Anglo-Catholic or High Churchman, he is constantly championing the purification of the Church by advocating its freedom from complacency and its emphasis on what he terms the "nonessentials." He would have the Church make a stronger appeal to the common man. In his chapter "Church Worship Leaves Me Cold," he has some excellent suggestions for Presbyterians as well as Anglicans.

This book consists really of a series of sermons delivered by Father Bell to the wealthy congregation of Trinity Church, New York City. The series grew out of the answers to a questionnaire which the preacher submitted to fifty people, coming from all walks of life. The twenty-two chapters deal with the answers to this questionnaire, the most important question in each case being, "What is your chief spiritual problem?"

You may not agree with Father Bell's answers. However, I assure you of one thing: you will never find him dull.

Thomas Franklyn Hudson

Inflation and the Work of the Church

(Continued from page 21)

costs, there would be no alternative.

During the past five years materials, equipment, and maintenance costs of the Boards have risen with the general increase in living costs. But by far the largest part of the Boards' expenditures is for the mission and educational enterprises and personnel, and it is here that inflation can have its greatest effect on Board costs. Just as the individual Church must consider what to do about its minister's salary, the Boards have the problem of the salaries of thousands of workers. In the home mission field alone there are over 4,000 mission enterprises and nearly 3,000 mission workers. In the educational field there are directors of over eighty Westminster Foundations and a large staff of field workers to be supported.

Under inflationary conditions, the Boards could not be Christian organizations and permit these workers to continue on bare minimum salaries. Changes would be necessitated to compensate at least in part for rising living costs. Actually some adjustments have been made already, indicating that inflation is having its effect on Board expenditures.

Our Board of Foreign Missions supports over 700 mission stations and a missionary force of about 1,150, not including the medical staff or national workers. In some of the foreign areas where these stations or missionaries are located the monetary system has gone completely out of control, and inflation is rampant. For instance, in China, where, at April 1, 1945, there were 250 stations and about 400 missionaries and medical staff, living costs in terms of American dollars has been about 1,000 per cent above what they were a few years back.

It is obviously impossible for the Board to provide these missionaries and the national workers with sufficient funds completely offset the inflationary co Some supplementary grants have b given, and through the Restoration F the Board anticipates receiving furt financial help to meet the situation.

In the home offices of our Boards th are over 300 additional employees to considered. Increased cost of living generally rising wage levels have ne sitated salary adjustments averaging ab 15 per cent in the clerical and office sta In some instances the salaries of the ecutive staffs have been adjusted and others cost of living allowances have b given. In either case the change has b from 5 per cent to 10 per cent.

In the Pension Program

The records of the Pension Board sh that at March 31, 1945, there were 915 sons on the Relief Rolls with an aver grant of $259. There were at the sa date 1,933 pastors and 1,751 widows orphans receiving pensions through Service Pension Plan.

The payments to all of these people fixed. They will receive the same amo every year no matter what changes t place in living costs. To these people m so than to any others inflation is a sev blow.

Take, for instance, the pensioner w received $1,000 per year in 1940. would still receive the same amount 1945, but the $1,000 in 1945 could buy h only 70 per cent of the food, 65 per cent the clothing, and 65 per cent of the hou hold supplies (using official Governme issued figures) that he could buy in 19 This is a serious situation and will be m so if inflation is uncontrolled.

Inflation has already made itself felt the life and work of the Church. Its eff is not good. Even more important, Church should realize what is ahead if flation goes unchecked. The danger sig are clear; they should not go unheeded.

A Technique for Stability

(Continued from page 23)

llotted twenty per cent of this value, nd individuals are paid varying shares n accordance with the nature of their obs. Since actual production cannot e known in advance the fifty-two pay hecks drawn during the year constitute unds taken from a drawing account. At tated times settlements are made in order o adjust wage withdrawals with produc- ion values. In present practice the plan overs about seventy per cent of the em- loyees.

The most striking characteristic of the Nunn-Bush plan is that the employee di- ectly shares the fortunes of the company nd has acquired a strong sense of partici- ation in company affairs. In good times or the company his wages automatically ncrease, and in bad times they auto- matically decrease—but he always has a job. The difficulty is that in a prolonged depression his wages might decrease below the subsistence level.

The plan of the George A. Hormel Com- pany is of special interest on two counts. First, a meat-packing company is subject to severe fluctuations in daily and monthly production because of the seasonal and other variations in the farmers' delivery of livestock to the plant. Secondly, the com- pany is the dominating economic factor in a "one-factory town," so that the effective- ness of its wage policy is evident not only within the plant but outside it as well. Like the Nunn-Bush plan the Hormel plan, while complicated in detail, is simple in essence.

The plan was introduced gradually, be- ginning with the smokehouse gang in 1931 and spreading by stages through other de- partments until in 1938 it covered practic- ally all wage earners. It is based on the fact that while daily and monthly produc- tion varies both widely and unpredictably it is possible to forecast with substantial accuracy the annual output and labor costs for the year, figured on the basis of the going hourly wage scales. The annual labor costs are distributed in fifty-two equal installments to the wage earners, the amounts varying with the jobs performed. A system of periodic adjustments and bonuses takes care of irregularities.

Jack Chernick and George C. Hellick- son, in their book *Guaranteed Annual Wages* (Minneapolis, University of Min- nesota Press, 1945), vividly describe what has happened to the city of Austin since 1935, when the annual wage plan had reached enough Hormel employees to make a real impact outside the plant. Between 1935 and 1940 the population increased from 12,276 to about 20,000, an increase of forty per cent, and during this period more than 4,000 residents moved into new homes. Most of the houses are in the $4,000 to $8,000 class and there is no shanty town, no wrong side of the tracks. The building of new homes is reflected in the sales of all kinds of durable household appliances such as furniture, refrigerators, heating plants, and all the other items that go into a house. Each time a new depart- ment at the Hormel plant was put on an annual wage its workers went out and bought things they had been afraid to buy before.

In the period 1932 to 1940 the savings of Austin citizens increased only ten per cent. During this same period both the population and the average weekly earn- ings of Hormel employees increased by fifty per cent. Why did savings fail to keep pace with income and population? Be- cause the worker had security and in the merchant's eyes had become a good risk.

Difficulties to Be Overcome

Operation of guaranteed annual wage plans goes back to the year 1894 when the National Wall Paper Company made a joint agreement with the Machine Printers and Color Mixers guaranteeing the workers eleven months' employment each year. Until recently the initiative has always

come from management, often against resistance on the part of labor. Many soundly conceived plans have failed because they were drawn up without consultation with the workers, who suspected them of being disguised speed-up or wage-cutting schemes. There can be little doubt that the marked success of the Hormel and Nunn-Bush plans is largely due to their being introduced gradually and only after full understanding, acceptance, and co-operation by the workers.

Last year labor for the first time made formal demands for an industry-wide guaranteed annual wage. Four principal unions of the CIO—the United Steelworkers, the United Automobile Workers, the United Electrical Workers, and the United Aluminum Workers—petitioned the War Labor Board to order industry to guarantee yearly employment and incomes to their members. The demands called for a minimum weekly wage with the amount determined by multiplying each employee's hourly wage rate by forty hours of guaranteed work.

The WLB panel considering the issue did not recommend that these particular demands be granted, though it did endorse the guaranteed annual wage plan in principle. The arguments of the steel companies against the proposals well illustrate why certain types of industries are reluctant to put annual wage plans into operation. Steel production is extremely sensitive to prosperity and depression. In 1932 production declined to one sixth of what it had been only three years before, and in 1943 it climbed to eight times what it had been in 1932. The steel companies do not find it possible to control these fluctuations by producing for stock in slack times because so large a proportion of their production must be made to order.

Therefore, if they were forced to keep a work force sufficient for six to eight times the production a lean year might bring, that one lean year might involve financial losses that would be ruinous. Under such conditions the tendency would be to hold down employment as much as possible and to avoid any expansion not based on assured markets. In other words the incentive would be toward restriction of production rather than toward the expansion that all agree is needed for full employment.

This, in essence, is the main difficulty to be overcome in respect to guaranteed wage plans. The American Management Association, in a useful and thorough recent research report on the annual wage, puts it this way: "An annual wage plan can best be applied when it is least needed and when it is most needed it can be least applied." It is easier to guarantee the wages of the highly skilled than of the less skilled who need it more; stable or expanding industries can introduce the plan more easily than fluctuating industries; in boom times when guarantees are not needed they are easy to apply, whereas in times of slump when they are needed most application is difficult if not impossible.

A period of postwar prosperity would provide the opportunity for the rapid spread of annual wage plans, especially in the industries where production is stable. And as such plans are introduced and become effective, there will be an increase in stability, thus making it easier for additional plans.

Two basic factors should be emphasized. First of all, no one annual wage plan will fit all industries. Each industry and each enterprise within the industry has its special problems and characteristics to which the plan must be fitted.

And secondly, any plan to be successful must grow out of genuine co-operation between the management and the workers of the plant where it is introduced. Experience has demonstrated that it cannot be imposed by management upon labor, and it is equally true that it cannot be imposed by labor upon management. The two must work out the plan together with, if necessary, the encouragement and guidance, but not the dictation of, Government agencies.

The Workshop

Venereal Disease Control. The grave ngers that America faces from a further crease of venereal disease infections, up- rge of prostitution, and an epidemic of omiscuity are pointed out in the publica- on *Challenge to Community Action,* re- ased by the Social Protection Division, fice of Community War Services, Federal curity Agency. According to this book- t, in the months immediately preceding J Day the Army and Navy reported that om 40 to 50 per cent of servicemen's V. D. fections were acquired during the 5 to per cent of the time they were on leave furlough. As millions of men return, any of them from long tours of duty road, the situation will be infinitely orse, states *Challenge to Community Ac- on.* The pamphlet urges a community- ide, carefully planned, and co-ordinated tack to meet the problems of prostitution id promiscuity. Copies of this pamphlet ay be secured, free, by writing to the ffice of Community War Services, Federal ecurity Agency, Washington.

A Marriage Syllabus. *Courtship, Mar- age, and the Family* is a 14-page mimeo- raphed syllabus by Dr. Clarence Leuba, r a course given at Antioch College. It unusually complete and valuable in con- ining many references and projects. opies may be obtained for 50 cents each, ostpaid, by writing to The Bookstore, Anti- ch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. This yllabus would be usable for discussion roups of young married couples or those bout to be married. Perhaps the local .M.C.A or Y.W.C.A. would like to know bout it. Do you have a marriage council n your community? If interested in start- ng one, write the Department of Social ducation and Action, 830 Witherspoon ldg., Philadelphia 7, Pa.

News from Topeka, Kansas. The ocial Education and Action Committee of the Westminster Presbyterian Church have a going program for the entire winter. They are holding weekly meetings. The first four of a series were forums held in the evening on the general subject of world organization. The second four were planned as dinner meetings and the subject of prejudice was explored.

Bloomfield, New Jersey, and Juvenile Arrests. The Social Education and Action Committee of the presbytery has made the following arrangements through the co-operation of the prosecutor, the sheriff, and the probation officer. Each week the head guard at the House of Detention of Essex County, N. J. (this takes in the entire Newark area), sends to the committee a list of the boys arrested during the week. This includes name, address, age, colored or white, Church affiliation, and name of pastor of the boys. The names selected are boys who are first offenders or the ones who in the opinion of the authorities can be helped if only someone will become interested.

"Our committee then gets in touch immediately with the pastor, the priest, or the Catholic Charities, or the Urban League. Sometimes we have to instruct pastors as to the legal ropes and give some encouragement. The results have been fine. We get wonderful co-operation from all. Catholic Charities does a nice work with the boys who have no parish. The Urban League is doing an exceptionally good job with the Negro boys. We have been able to help over twenty-five boys in the last year. The work is most interesting and is opening the eyes of many pastors and affords a working co-operative movement between Catholic, Jew, and Protestant, and among races."—Reported by Rev. John A. Reed, former chairman of Newark Presbytery, New Jersey.

Industrial Relations Panel in Detroit. One of the best-attended meetings of Detroit Presbytery in some time was the Social Education and Action Committee popular evening session, a panel on "The Role of the Church in the Industrial Crisis."

The moderator of the panel was Frank W. McCulloch, Director of the James Mullenbach Institute, a Congregational institution with headquarters in Chicago. Introducing the subject, he pointed out that the Church has a role to participate, to furnish a conscience, to be prophetic, and that every Christian is involved.

George Rommey, executive of the Automobile Manufacturers' Associations, a member of the panel, spoke particularly on the question, "Does industry have a plan for full employment?" He favored free enterprise and opposed the labor monopoly which manufacturers fear. James Wishart, Research Director of the U A W-C I O, addressing himself to the question, "Has labor pushed its demands too far?" denied that the union has anything like the power that the corporation has and pointed out that the union is trying to raise the purchasing power of the nation to avoid further depression-boom cycle. "Unless the workers can buy the products that they manufacture," he declared, "we are headed for another depression." Dr. Jay J. Sherman, head of the Government department at Wayne University, pointed out that since the people are the government, the Government would interfere just so far as the people wanted intervention in the public interest.

It was interesting to note that the stated aim of both management and labor were identical: to raise the standard of living in America and to expand the use of industrial products. Both parties favored high wages, favorable hours and working conditions. Mr. Rommey proposed to break up the union until there was a separate union for each plant. Mr. Wishart held that the union should be company-wide.

A stimulating question period followed and Mr. McCulloch concluded the panel with an incisive summary.

In advance promotion of the meeting a general letter was sent to the pastor of every Church asking that the Social Education and Action Committee and the Social Education and Action representative of the women's group attend. Many people who had never attended a presbytery meeting before were present as the result of a chain system of phoning and letters.—Reported by Keith G. Conning, Chairman Committee on Social Education and Action, Presbytery of Detroit.

World Security. A two-day study conference which was held under the auspices of The Church Federation of Indianapolis began with the address "The Share of the Church in the Making of Peace." Study groups were held on the following subjects: (1) One Church for One World, (2) Postwar Military Training, (3) Implementation of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, and (4) Function of the Church in the Implementation of the Human Rights Section of the United Nations Charter.

Potpourri: Restrictive Covenants News. In Los Angeles, Superior Judge Thurmond Clark dismissed eight suits against Negro property holders with the words, "This court is of the opinion that it is time that members of the Negro race are accorded, without reservation and evasions, the full rights guaranteed them under the 14th Amendment of the Federal Constitution." This is one of the few times in our country when decisions of this kind have been made. What is the situation in your community? Can all groups buy property in the open market without restriction? The story on "restrictive covenants" in this country is not a pretty one. It is our Christian responsibility to become informed on our own situation and act.

Study and Action

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ernational Questions

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